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320

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THE CASA D'INDUSTRIA IN BOLOGNA
DURING THE NAPOLEONIC PERIOD:
PUBLIC RELIEF AND SUBSISTENCE STRATEGIES

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THE CASA D'INDUSTRIA IN BOLOGNA DURING THE NAPOLEONIC
PERIOD: PUBLIC RELIEF AND SUBSISTENCE STRATEGIES.

1. Economic crisis and poverty at Bologna.

In the first decade of the nineteenth century Bologna underwent the final stage in a process of de-industrialization that had started more than two centuries earlier¹. The manufacture of silk, the city's most important source of employment, had to be reorganized and converted to unfinished products. By about 1810 - despite contributions and support operations decided on by the government - production levels and the number of employed had fallen.

Even more disastrous were the effects of French protectionism and the closing of markets caused by the Continental blockade on the hemp industry, Bologna's second field of production. The export of hackled hemp, canvas and cordage - the pride of the local hemp manufacturers - was reduced to insignificant proportions; the abolition of corporative protection had affected the city workshops in particular, exposing them to competition from their counterparts in the countryside; the government favoured the French textile industries and placed obstacles and burdensome charges on local manufacturers. Between 1806 and 1811 the number of workers employed in urban industry fell by half: military requisitions, the imbalances of the war economy, conscription and poor agricultural harvests combined their negative effects on a city afflicted by economic stagnation. On a demographic level too, a century of stasis was followed by an abrupt shrinking of the urban population and increased social mobility².

Poverty, a condition endemic in all pre-industrial economies, showed itself in all its virulence. Its most feared manifestation, mendicancy, became the chief means of support

for the families of redundant silk and hemp workers. In the first years of the Kingdom of Italy (from 1804), the new administration made use of existing institutional channels to meet the problem³. The public charity system, well-established under earlier governments, was safeguarded, but charitable institutions were placed under strict administrative control⁴ and substantially lost their financial autonomy⁵. With reduced resources, welfare institutions were limited to maintaining the levels of relief already reached, without the possibility of facing new emergencies or benefiting a greater number of the needy. The practice of mendicancy was therefore tolerated; indeed, public begging was regulated through the issue of qualifying licences⁶.

From 1804, however, the process of adjustment of Italian legislation to the French corpus of regulations was begun. The final stage was the proclamation banning mendicancy issued by the Department of Olona (Milan) in August 1808 and extended to other departments, including that of Reno (Bologna), in February 1809⁷. The decree provided for the opening, in cantonal capitals, of Case d'industria (workhouses) designed to receive able-bodied mendicants, while the infirm were shunted towards existing charitable establishments⁸. The new workhouses were not an innovation; a decree in 1804 had already provided for the creation of "places of voluntary work"⁹ and compulsory work activity for able-bodied inmates had already been adopted in numerous hospices and charitable institutions. The model which inspired these Case d'industria were the French Dépôts de mendicité introduced the year before in the Italian provinces annexed to the Empire¹⁰.

The innovative feature of the Case d'industria was the abandonment of any attempt to confine all the poor in

buildings that were a cross between prison and factory. This contrasted with the drive to segregate characteristic of the preceding centuries, which had been behind all the operations carried out, or even only planned, to resolve the problem of poverty. At Bologna, one can point to the experience of the Opera Mendicanti, started in the sixteenth century in the former lazaretto, and the many projects of the eighteenth century, none of which was ever put into practice¹¹.

The Casa d'industria at Bologna, opened in April 1809, quite simply proposed to employ the mendicants in the manufacture of hemp¹². Confinement, as an extreme form of individual control, was exercised over a paltry number of men on relief, who had been compulsorily sent there by police bodies. And conversely, those who worked inside the Casa d'industria, being without work tools, nor employed in complex manufacture, went home at the end of the working day. At home, almost the entire work-force, represented exclusively by female labour, was employed in the manufacture of textiles¹³. It seems clear, especially in the case of domestic workers, that the work itself served as an effective means of control, in that the handing out of material for spinning or weaving was linked to the worker's behaviour and conduct.

2. Wages, a means of relief.

The type of charity given by the Casa d'industria was very different from that of the city's other institutions¹⁴. The latter gave priority to protected groups: orphans, the old, spinsters and the "shamefaced poor" received graded forms of relief from specific institutions, such as help in kind, permanent subsidy, marriage settlements, refuge.... No institution offered the genera-

lized relief that was needed, particularly in times of economic crisis. The Casa d'industria filled this gap: characterized by a welfare practice based on the guaranteed supply of work, it thus acted as a filter between the organized public charity system and society. In other words, the Casa d'industria ensured a minimum level of relief in the form of the pay itself. This was guaranteed and in this respect the House differed from the private workshop, where market fluctuations were directly off-loaded onto the workers with suspension and dismissals. The privilege of assured work cost the House worker reduced pay in comparison with current rates, but this was a quite usual procedure in the ateliers de bienfaisance¹⁵. The Congregazione di carità, the organization that managed the city's charitable institutions and on which the House depended, defended this procedure, "it not being fitting that the workers, given that they have continuous and secure employment, be paid for their work at the same level as the workshop owners are accustomed to pay." The reduced wage was also considered a sure way of determining the most needy and limiting the relief to them alone¹⁶.

To this guaranteed employment, even in times of crisis, were added various sorts of subsidy. The newly employed were granted a daily sum of money for the period of their apprenticeship at the spinning wheel. A subsidy was also allocated to those who, for reasons of age or disability, had reduced working capacities¹⁷. And finally a supplement to the lowest wages was provided on holidays: the discretion with which the subsidy could be assigned allowed it to be used as a means of rewarding those workers who best adapted to the factory discipline. In similar manner, the department heads had the possibility of assigning a greater work load to the most deserving and needy, which meant -

since it was piece-work - better wages. It must be remembered however that these forms of supplementary pay, whether of the support or the bonus type, were reserved for a small minority, the workers inside the House. These workers enjoyed further concessions, being able to take meals at the factory canteen at discount prices, and - if they were without lodgings - get shelter at night in the same place. The home-spinners, excluded from the subsidies, could seek to increase their income by obtaining orders from other workshops; yet the majority had to be satisfied with working when they were free from domestic chores, in order somehow to supplement the family budget.

Subsidies and guaranteed work combined to make the Casa d'industria, if considered by the same criteria as a commercial concern, a bad investment. In fact, the factory always showed huge losses at the annual closing of the books¹⁸. Nevertheless, the Napoleonic administration, aware of the welfare function performed by the House, was prepared to bear the costs¹⁹. The situation changed radically with the Restoration, when the papal government felt the need to declare the end of the poverty emergency. In reality, in the years 1817-1819, Bologna suffered an economic crisis even more far-reaching than that ten years earlier: infested by a typhus epidemic as well as famine following a disastrous agricultural harvest, it counted almost thirty thousand idlers, vagabonds and beggars among its population²⁰. Nevertheless, the government, determined to press on towards normalization, sacrificed the Casa d'industria, ordering it to be managed as a commercial enterprise and to abandon its charitable purposes²¹.

3. Wages and subsistence levels.

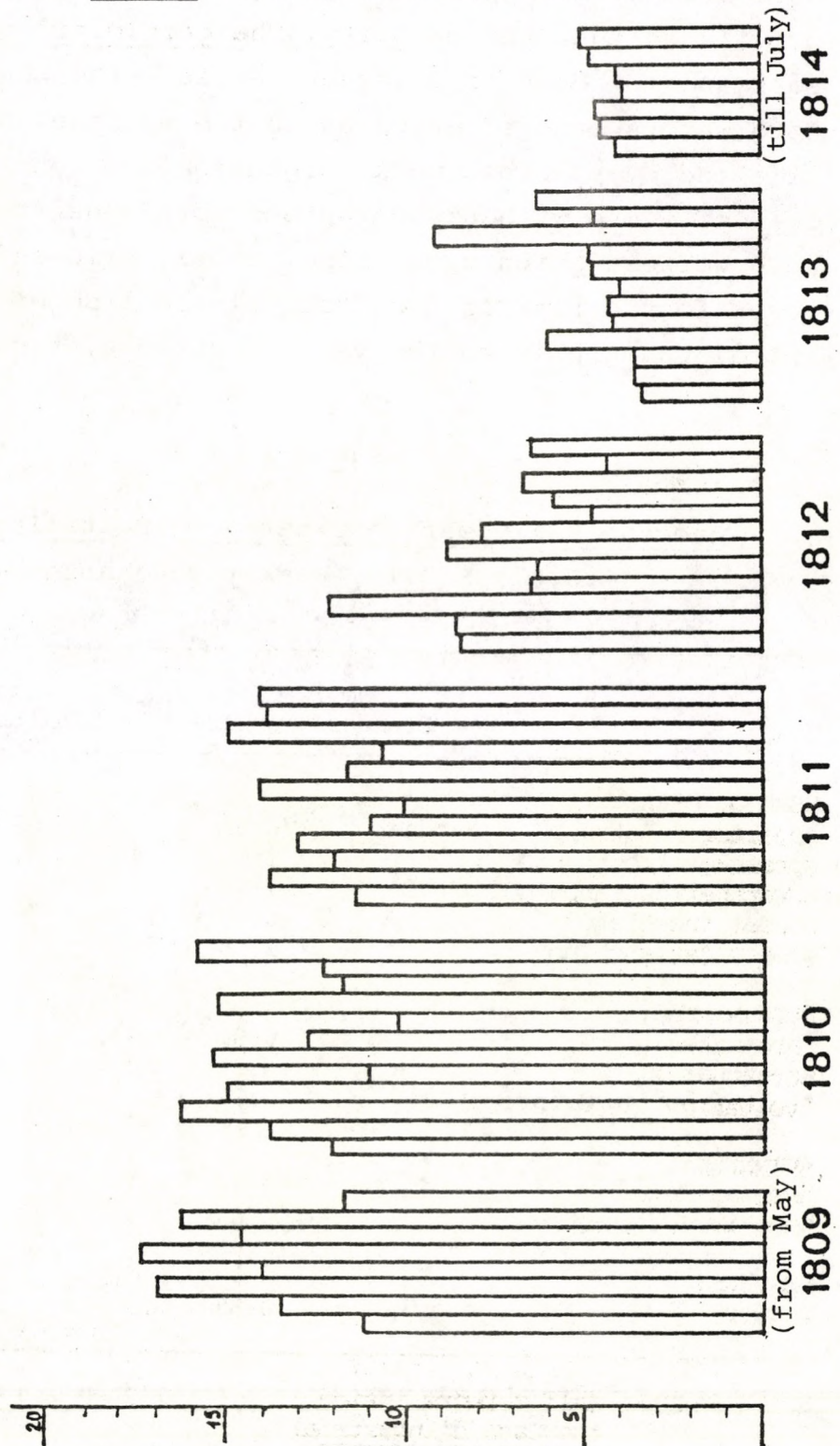
If we limit the analysis solely to the Napoleonic pe-

riod, it is possible to see how much the living conditions assured to the House workers changed in just five years (1809-1814). The historical events that quickly followed in that period, and the weighty implications these had for the economy, could not but affect the labourer employed by the factory, just as - more generally - they affected the whole public welfare system in Bologna²².

An initial period of relative financial security with maximum exploitation of productive capacity was soon followed by an abrupt decline, due to the difficulty of finding raw materials and scarcity of funds: for the first time the workers paid for the consequences of this in reduced wages and limited deliveries of material for manufacture²³. The data regarding the average daily wages of a worker in the House in the first sixty months of its activity, shown in Figure A, underlines this trend: average earnings fell from 13 - 14 centesimi in the first three years to 5 - 6 centesimi from 1812 onwards²⁴. Besides the continual revisions in the wage rates, the main reason for this drop were reductions in the supplementary subsidies, although these were not in fact so burdensome as to justify restrictions. Monthly expenditure on subsidies, which up to 1811 averaged 180 - 200 lire²⁵, dropped in the last years to barely 30 - 40 lire.

Figure A : Average per capita daily earnings of the workers in the House (in centesimi). Each year is divided into monthly columns.
(A.S.B., F.C.I., weekly administrator's notes.)

The averages shown include holidays, since we wished to discover the purchasing power resulting from work for the House. Given the number of feast-days encountered in the course of the year, the figures were increased by about one third to obtain actual earnings. Thus the 14 centesimi in 1809 - 1810 rise to just under 20: this latter amount may be compared with the figures in table 1.



The fall in earnings was bound to affect the House workers in varying degrees. One part of the work-force, characterised by high professional qualifications, was more privileged than the majority. The gargiolari or hemp-dressers and - though to a lesser degree - the weavers and cord-makers enjoyed wages above the average, nor were they affected by possible work suspension. By contrast, the bulk of those without guaranteed work consisted of the female workers spinning at home, poorly paid and always exposed to the risk of dismissal. Table 1 shows the differential wages paid to the various workers, and compares the

Table 1

Average daily earnings per job in Italian lire

(A.S.B., F.C.I., Weekly wage notes.)

	Sample of Standard Workers	No.	Sample of Skilled Workers	No.		
HEMP-DRESSERS:						
selector "nostrano"	lire	0:83	3	lire	1:04	1
scratcher "nostrano"		1:09	4		1:86	2
scratcher "stianchino"		1:78	7		2:83	3
comber "nostrano"		0:98	11		1:86	2
comber "stianchino"		1:38	11		2:13	3
ROPE-MAKERS:						
cord-maker		0:91	6		= =	=
scratcher		0:37	2		= =	=
"voltarino" (apprentice)		0:27	3		= =	=
SPINNERS:						
hemp-spinner		0:26	43		0:67	6
hemp-tow-spinner		0:03	3		0:18	1
WEAVERS:						
weaver		0:38	19		0:66	7
SCALE SAMPLE: (all workers inside the <u>Casa d'industria</u>)					112	25

average pay for a working day in the first two years of the House's activity. However, the sample used, consisting of 137 workers, is limited to inside workers alone, the only group for which figures are available. Furthermore, since the test does not take account of proportional distribution among the various tasks, it is not representative of the whole work-force. This explains the considerable variance between the figures in Table 1 and those in Figure A: the home-spinners, who make up about 80% of all the workers, contribute quite significantly to the composition of the data on the graph but are excluded from the survey in the table. It is impossible, at the present stage of research, to evaluate their earnings. A rough estimate gives the outside spinner an average income equal to half that of an inside spinner. But in this instance an average cannot adequately represent the real facts: we may assume some spinners had incomes comparable to those shown in the Table, while others earned ridiculously low sums for their work²⁶.

Despite these limitations, the data in Table 1 permit the scale of earnings to be checked in terms of purchasing power. In order to determine the individual's requirements, a typical diet must be assumed. The food doled out in these years in prisons, hospitals and hospices has been studied and evaluated at market prices²⁷. A diet rich in starch but almost lacking in meat amounted to a daily cost of 37 - 38 centesimi, which became 46 - 48 centesimi with the addition of wine, an irreplaceable element in the eating habits of the period. A more varied diet with a sufficient amount of animal protein from fresh meat cost between 62 and 68 centesimi a day²⁸.

Taking as realistic a sum of 47 centesimi a day, a weekly expenditure of 3:29 lire is obtained. The incomes of 137 workers, already used in the composition of Table 1, have been applied to this rate, which represents the mini-

minimum subsistence wage: the results obtained are shown in Table 2. Leaving aside the figure for the rope-makers, as

Table 2

Average weekly earning per job related to subsistence wage
(A.S.B., F.C.I., Weekly wage notes.)

AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS IN ITALIAN LIRE		PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION AMONG THE INCOME GROUPS			
(Subsistence wage = 3.30)		hemp-dressers	rope-makers	weavers	spinners
lire	0:00 - 3.30	4,3 %	45,5 %	65,4 %	100,0 %
	3:31 - 6:60	44,7 %	54,5 %	34,6 %	==
	6:61 - 9:90	38,3 %	==	==	==
	9:91 - 13:20	8,5 %	==	==	==
	13:21+	4,3 %	==	==	==
total		100,1 %	100,0 %	100,0 %	100,0 %
number of cases examined		47	11	26	53

- Scale of sample: 137 cases (all workers inside the Casa d'industria).
- The weekly wage is calculated on a six-day working week.

those who received wages below the subsistence levels were young apprentices, it can be seen that two thirds of the weavers and all the spinners did not earn enough to live on. A further breakdown of the data underlines the precarious situation of the spinners, 36% of whom earned less than half the minimum subsistence wage; none of the hemp-dressers or weavers found themselves in this condition. The only category free from economic worries was that of the hemp-dressers, the majority of whom could maintain a family on their work. But

this was skilled labour, accounting for barely 1 - 2% of the workers employed in the House. If we remember that more than three quarters of the labour force - made up of the home-spinners - were in a worse economic plight than their male counterparts inside the House who make up the sample, we may assume that almost all House workers received a wage insufficient for their own maintenance. Nor could a possible supplementary subsidy alter this situation.

So to what extent did the proceeds from work for the House contribute to the home-spinner's family income? Did this income represent a complementary source, as the data just described seems to suggest? Or was it the chief item in the family budget, with supplements coming from other welfare channels? Indeed did such channels exist, where private and public charity existed side by side? These are questions to which no answers have yet been found. The sources studied up to now do not concern the family group, its composition or its working capacity. The Casa d'industria helped individuals, without bothering about their family background. The mendicancy certificates drawn up by parish delegates²⁹ - without which one could not be employed in the factory - hardly ever alluded to the applicant's family circumstances. An individual certificate was provided even in cases where several members of the same family group applied for work³⁰.

In the next section the behaviour of individual workers will be examined, in terms of the question of wage integration. The purpose of the following remarks is also to examine, at least partially, attitudes in the family environment.

4. Can't beggars be choosers?

The provisions that renewed the ban on begging and reminded transgressors of the heavy penalties continued after the proclamation of 1809³¹; the frequency with which they were restated was a symptom of their ineffectiveness. In particular, the ban on night begging was disregarded, that is, the practice of public begging after the workshops and factories closed in the evening. Often it was the workers who did this, seeking to supplement the pay earned during the day; even those employed by the House engaged in it assiduously. Given the ineffectiveness of warnings and demonstrative arrests, the police bodies urged the House management to adopt a singular expedient. At the end of the day's work in the factory, the pouring out of the workers onto the streets was heralded by the ringing of the bell in the city's main tower: the idea was to safeguard the "good" citizens against being pestered by those on welfare³².

In the case of home-workers, in addition to begging, small offences against the House represented an attempt to increase income. The most common offences were the replacement of one yarn with another of inferior quality and the appropriation of small amounts of thread before redelivery. However, these attempts do not seem to have been profitable: almost always discovered, the home-spinners found the so-called smanco (loss) detracted from their earnings. On the other hand, the House was less efficient in recovering material given out to defaulting spinners³³. These were workers who frequently managed to get deliveries of skeins for spinning without ever giving back the yarn. The slowness of the administration and frequent change of residence by the spinners combined to make recovery difficult; the yarn ended up becoming a "contribution to an unrecoverable fund".

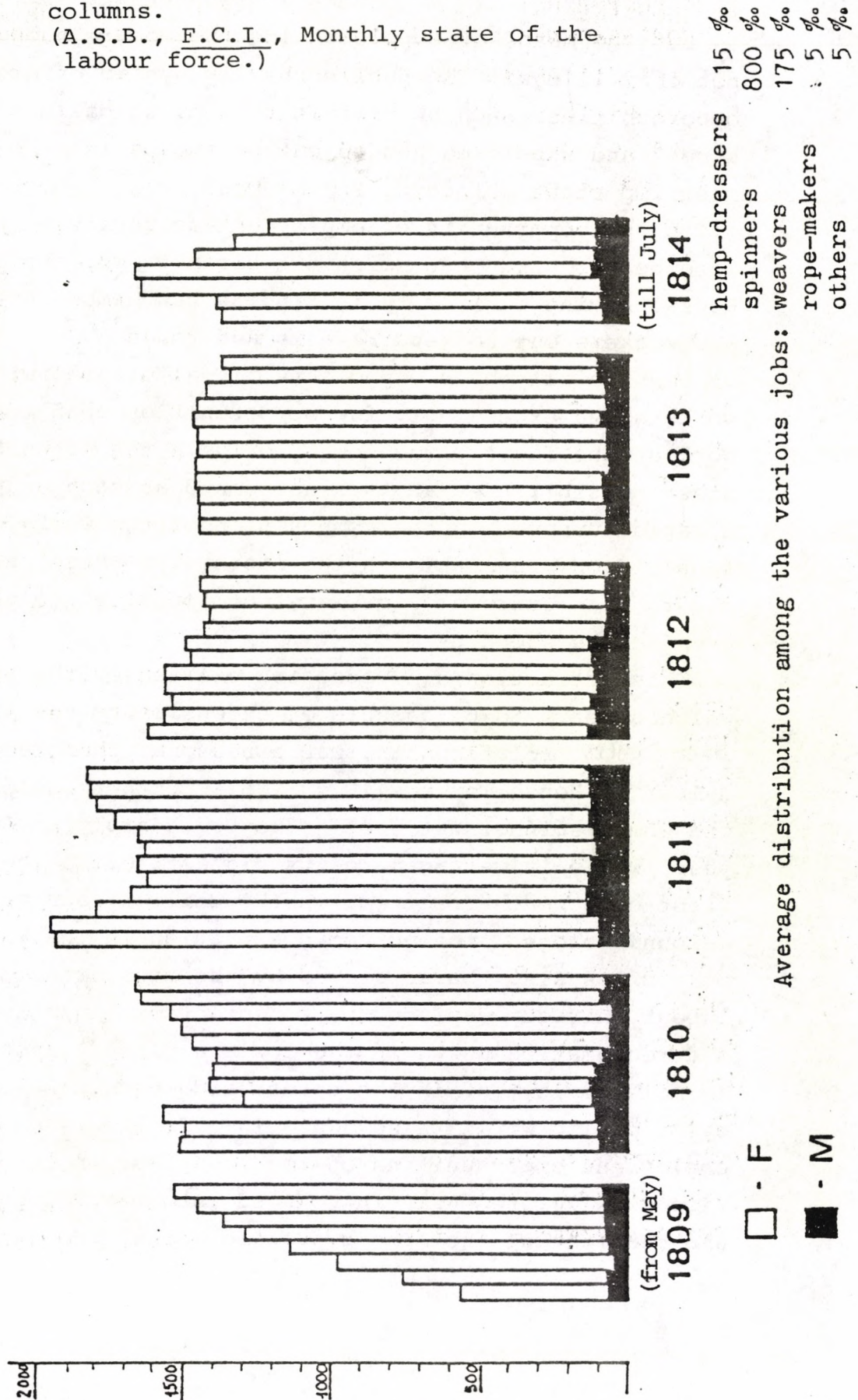
But the means of supplementing the meagre budget were not only illegal. The public charity system offered other opportunities, such as distribution of so-called "economic soups" and subsidies handed out by the parishes on the most important holidays. Furthermore, male labourers were given the opportunity of employment on public works, which were better paid than spinning: often it was the same House, having difficulty in finding raw hemp, that sent its workers out to repair walls and roads³¹.

Despite all these expedients, legal or otherwise, House workers had exceedingly few opportunities open to them. Work at the factory was sought only in the absence of any other possibilities and was abandoned as soon as possible. A rapid turnover in the composition of the work-force is found if one runs through the lists of workers' names, indicating an extremely low level of "loyalty" to the House, even in the short term³⁵.

This attraction and repulsion exerted by the House, which appears to be capable of extension to the broader town-country relationship, was a seasonal phenomenon. The number of House workers (Figure B) - both those inside and the women spinners at home - dropped sharply in April every year, while it returned to its highest levels when the first cold weather set in. In the Emilian countryside (around Bologna) the economic situation in the Napoleonic period was also characterized by the mass transfer of male labour (already depleted by conscription) into hydraulic and reclamation works in the lowland plain³⁶. The increase in male employment in the countryside caused by this policy of public works also had spin-off effects on female employment opportunities on the land. For in these years, rice growing, recently introduced into the Bologna region and benefitting from the hydraulic works, underwent great

Figure B : Average monthly number of wage-earners at the House. Each year is divided into monthly columns.
(A.S.B., F.C.I., Monthly state of the labour force.)

- It is easier to notice seasonal fluctuations in the early years, before cuts in wages reduced the number of people who turned to the House for work.



expansion³⁷. As is well known, rice growing requires a great input of daily labour, and April is precisely the month when work begins in the rice-paddies.

It seems reasonable to assume a connection between the recorded drop in the number of House workers in the spring and summer months, and the attraction exerted by the labour market in the countryside. In fact, for the inside workers this assumption is borne out by the weekly reports drawn up by the House overseers, in which one frequently finds - alongside the names of the absentees - the explanation "gone to work in the countryside".

Even though we do not have such precise confirmation for the home-spinners, the transfer to the countryside would explain the drop in the numbers coming to the House recorded in the warm season in Figure B. In rural communities, the winter months were given over to the spinning and weaving of hemp clothing, but this work was abandoned when farm work required the availability of all hands. Many House spinners seemed to have kept up this strong tie with the land, accepting the spinning-wheel as an alternative activity - during the winter break - to working in the fields. Intolerance of House discipline and the rules imposed by urban life, together with the better living conditions offered by the countryside in summer, may have contributed to the estrangement from factory employment. And the poor man, without any other means of subsistence than his own job, moved his family to where there was a greater chance of work. The Bologna Workhouse tried to stop this "vagabondage", but it ended up becoming a stage in the journey.

NOTES

1. For the process of de-industrialization, see C. Poni, 'Un processo secolare di deindustrializzazione: Bologna dal XVI al XVIII secolo', in Atti della X settimana di studio dell'Istituto Internazionale di storia economica "Francesco Datini", Prato 1978; more generally, for an outline of the Bolognese economy during the Napoleonic period, cf. E. Tarle, La vita economica dell'Italia nell'età napoleonica, Turin 1950; U. Marcelli, 'La crisi economica e sociale e le prime vendite dei beni ecclesiastici (1797-1800)', in his Saggi economici e sociali sulla storia di Bologna dal secolo XVI al XVIII, Bologna 1962, pp. 195-221; L. Dal Pane, Economia e società a Bologna nell'età del Risorgimento, Bologna 1969; R. Zangheri, 'Gli anni francesi in Italia: le nuove condizioni della proprietà', Studi storici, 20 (1979), pp. 5-26; O. Rombaldi, 'Manifatture e commercio nell'età napoleonica e nella Restaurazione', in Storia dell'Emilia Romagna, Bologna 1980, III, pp. 181-205; M.V. Cristoferi, 'Attività artigianali e commerciali, città, inquinamento. Una ricerca sulla Bologna del primo Ottocento', in Studi in memoria di Luigi Da Pane, Bologna 1982, pp. 645-684.

2. A. Bellettini cites a city population of 64,078 for 1808. To find a smaller population we must go back as far as 1708 (61,141 inhabitants), see A. Bellettini, 'La popolazione di Bologna nel corso dell'Ottocento', in Storia urbana, 5 (1978), pp. 3-32. On population mobility, cf. the table in R. Zangheri, Misure della popolazione e della produzione agricola nel dipartimento del Reno, Bologna 1958, p. 57.

3. For an overview of the evolution of forms of public charity in Italy, with reference to similar experiences abroad, see A. Cherubini, Doctrine e metodi assistenziali dal 1789 al 1848. Italia, Francia, Inghilterra, Milan 1958; Id., Per una storia dell'assistenza pubblica in Italia, s.l. (Rome) 1965.

4. Up till 1807 charitable institutions were the concern of the Ministry for Religion which coordinated the Secretariat of charitable foundations and the Administration of the religious fund; subsequently they became the responsibility of the Ministry of the Interior, which controlled the activity of the local Congregazioni di carità through general inspectors for public charity. The Congregations, presided over in provincial capitals by the officer representing the ministry (prefetto), administered the cities' charitable institutions. These were also provided for in article XI of the Concordat of 16 September 1803, cf. Bollettino delle leggi e foglio ufficiale della Repubblica Italiana, III, 26 January 1804.

5. A great number of charitable estates were in fact tied up in the forced subscription to Napoleon Vouchers (Buoni Napoleone), as the shares in the public debt were called. The matter was regulated, for the welfare institutes, by the relevant decree, cf. Bollettino delle leggi e foglio ufficiale del Regno d'Italia, R.D. 4 August 1807.

6. Collezione delle leggi, proclami ed editti pubblicati in Bologna dopo il ritorno delle truppe francesi, XI, p. 78; XX, p. 6. The compulsory licence was reintroduced by the provisional Austrian government, with a proclamation on 26 May 1814, and remained in force up to the edict of

1 December 1816, where a second "suppression of so-called mendicancy" was decreed. Archivio di Stato di Bologna (A.S.B.), Ufficio del Legato, Bandi, editti e notificazioni.

7. Bolletino...del Regno d'Italia, cit., R.D. 20 August 1808 e R.D. 25 February 1809.

8. Ibid., article 2 of the R.D. 20 August 1808.

9. Bollettino...della Repubblica Italiana, cit., III, R.D. 25 August 1804. In order to carry out this decree, the opening of a voluntary work house was planned at Bologna, cf. A.S.B., Archivio napoleonico, Casa di lavoro, vol. 214; Beneficenza, vols. 202-203.

10. On the dépôts see J.P. Gutton, La Société et les pauvres, Paris 1974; on their introduction into Italy, see D. Maldini Chiarito, 'La legislazione napoleonica e il pauperismo in Piemonte', in Storia urbana, 13 (1980), pp. 3-18.

11. For a first outline of the Opera Mendicanti see G. Calori, Una iniziativa sociale nella Bologna del '500. L'Opera Mendicanti, Bologna 1972. The eighteenth century project, which envisaged a better organization, was linked to the substantial legacy of a rich silk merchant in Bologna, Matteo Conti (1726): on the subject see F. Giusberti, 'Poveri bolognesi, poveri forestieri e poveri inventati; un progetto di "rinchiudimento" nel XVIII secolo', Storia urbana, 13 (1980), pp. 31-54. For other projects (1714, 1756 and 1780) see my unpublished degree thesis Manifattura tessile e popolazione marginale: La Casa d'Industria a Bologna (1809-1820), University of Bologna 1980-1981, pp. 10-44.

12. The Casa d'industria was opened in Bologna on 1 April 1809 in imitation of a similar institution opened the preceding year in Milan. The site of the factory, obtained from the premises of the ex-church and hospital of San Leonardo de' Mendicanti, was situated in via San Vitale, in a predominantly working class settlement area. Inside the building a workshop for hemp hackling (called gargio-leria), a ropery, spinning and weaving shops were set up. For brief periods premises for wool manufacture and paddy rice husking were provided. There were also warehouses and administrative offices. There is a description of the factory in A.S.B., Archivio Notarile, Rogiti Antonio Luigi Forni, 1813, register 959; 1814, register 1025.

13. In the five years examined (1809-1814), the factory gave work to an annual average of 1456 people, of whom only 102 were men. Allocation of jobs was as follows: 17 employed in the hemp workshop, 1143 spinning, 248 weaving-fabrics, 6 in the ropery, 42 in other activities. A.S.B., Fondo Casa d'Industria (F.C.I.), Monthly manufacture levels.

14. The 54 charitable institutions in the city, administered by the Congregazione di carità from January 1808 to April 1814, were divided into three groups: 8 hospitals, 13 hospices, 33 charitable organizations and almonry. The Casa d'industria was included in the third group. Cf. P. Silvani, Sull'ordinamento delle Opere Pie di Bologna. Relazione alla Deputazione Provinciale, Bologna 1877, pp. 3-4.

15. Cf. D. Maldini Chiarito, op.cit., p. 14.

16. A.S.B., F.C.I., b.8, p.n. 945. In a report to the officer one reads "When a worker draws little from his labour and when he is constrained to take on other work from which he

earns exceedingly little, this has always been believed to be the surest principle for driving him away. But in practice the principle is of no help, for need is greater than all principles". A.S.B., Archivio Generale di Prefettura (A.G.P.), Titolo VI, rub. 10, 1810, p.n. 427.

17. Although relief for the elderly was provided for in the Casa di ricovero and other places of welfare, the Casa d'industria supplied work to many people over sixty. A.S.B., F.C.I., b.1, p.n. 48.

18. The first three financial years closed with the following deficits: 1809-1810 6,975 lire (13,355); 1810-1811 15,275 lire (25,025); 1811-1812 24,850 lire (31,995). The figures in brackets have been worked out from the House administrator's notes and represent the balance of what today would be called the industrial or profit and loss account. The other figures are those actually shown on the budget and represent instead the balance of assets between the House and the Congregazione di carità. A.S.B., F.C.I., b.7, p.n. 695; b.13, p.n. 504; b.15, p.n. 233. Wages cut into more than half (51%) of management expenses; as a comparison, one can note that in the first three years of papal administration (1817-1819), wages accounted for 41% of the expenses, a percentage closer to that of a private concern. Cf. M. Marcolin, thesis cit., pp. 138, 289-291.

19. In a memorandum from the director to his superiors, where the history of the House is summed up, we read: "It was not difficult to foresee that, from its establishment, this factory could not but bear loss", given the "political" character of the institution, "for that interest that the subordinate management of Municipalities must have, especially in times of crisis, for the most needy part of its population". A.S.B., F.C.I., b.25, p.n. 320.

20. The data on the typhus epidemic are given in E. Sori, "Malattia e demografia", in Storia d'Italia, Annali, 7, Turin 1984, p. 545; on the poor agricultural harvest, cf. P. Predieri, Delle carestie dei grani avvenute nel bolognese e del modo migliore per evitarle in appresso, Bologna 1855, p. 19; for the population, see Diario ecclesiastico, Bologna 1818, pp. 65-77.

21. To reduce losses the papal administration did not hesitate to arrange for the dismissal of workers with irregular certificates of poverty, of the spinners living outside the city walls, who delayed delivery of their work; the papal administration went as far as giving a three-lire subsidy to workers left jobless "on condition that they did not come back again" to the House. Cf. A.S.B., F.C.I., b.29, p.n. 392. Despite the reduction in labour and the restructuring of the company - with renewal of product lines and production techniques - the losses remained huge; the government then closed the Casa d'industria, transforming it in 1820 into a real commercial enterprise, the Casa provinciale di lavoro. Cf. M. Marcolin, thesis, cit., pp. 238-245. For the more general direction of the papal authorities towards the transfer of work houses to private management, see C.L. Morichini, 'De' principi secondo i quali stabilire e dirigere Pie case di lavoro e di ricovero per l'estinzione della mendicizia nello Stato Pontificio', Annali universali di statistica, 40 (1834), pp. 301-302.

22. The Congregazione di carità was not able to close its books in the last four years (1810-1814) because of the confused administrative situation and the accrued losses it was unable to cover. A.S.B., A.G.P., Titolo VI, rub. 14,

1814. The estates of the 54 welfare establishments, which brought in an annual return of about 1,200,000 lire, collectively showed a deficit of 560,798 lire, of which 103,320 was attributable to the Casa d'industria. A.S.B., Fondo de' Bosdari, 833: Statistical Studies and essays. For a more general view of the public charity situation in Bologna under Napoleon, see G. Massei, 'Sulla beneficenza e la istruzione pubblica in Bologna', Annali universali di statistica, 43 (1837), pp. 13-20; S.C.C., Sull'accattonaggio in Bologna dal 1809 al 1814, sunto storico alla Conferenza Economico-Morale, Bologna 1847; L. Carpi, Cenni sul togliere l'accattonaggio. Lato economico pratico. Memoria tratta dalla Conferenza Economico-Morale dei 12 e 19 aprile 1847, Bologna 1847; P. Silvani, op.cit.

23. The most considerable reductions were brought in with the new rate in August 1812, cf. A.S.B., F.C.I., b.14, p.n. 70. A few months later subsidies "for not having been able to work" began to be handed out. A.S.B., F.C.I., Monthly state of the labour force.

24. During the four years under examination, the number of workers and the distribution of labour between the various sectors changed considerably. The wage trend shown in Figure A, after the necessary checks have been made, turns out to be independent of these two factors.

25. In the months immediately preceding the restrictions, subsidies exceeded 250 lire a month, but this was simply due to the compensation paid out to the hemp-workers left jobless because of lack of warehouse stocks. A.S.B., F.C.I., Monthly state of the labour-force.

26. In support of this assumption, one may point to the data on the quantity of raw material held by the spinners in arrears which varied widely from case to case. A.S.B., F.C.I., b.18, p.n. 268.

27. In the A.S.B. we have found tables of daily food allowances for the political prison at S. Giovanni in Monte, the Casa di Condanna at S. Michele in Bosco, the projected voluntary Workhouse, the Ospedale degli Abbandonati and the Casa di Ricovero at S. Gregorio. The period examined runs from 1803 to 1817. Partial checks on daily food expenses have also been carried out for other charitable institutions. The diets in the five institutions examined show fewer differences than one would logically expect. Two levels of provision can be distinguished, the richer of which was usually reserved for the sick. The poor diet consisted of a daily allowance of two rice or vegetable broths flavoured with lard, two livres (724 gr.) of white bread, a jugful of wine (131 cl.), salad dressed with vinegar; sometimes the bread ration was halved and replaced by a quarter of a livre (90 gr.) of meat. The rich diet included one livre of meat (362 gr.) and one of bread, as well as the salad, vegetables and wine.

28. The prices are calculated on an average of the rates current between 1809 and 1812, obtained from the figures officially collected by the authorities and kept in the State Archives. A.S.B., Ufficio del Legato, Bandi, editti e notificazioni.

29. The parish delegate was a lay person who helped the parish priest with charitable activities.

30. The certificates carried the name of the applicant, his address, sometimes replaced by the words "of this parish", and his or her condition as a pauper bereft of other help; in some cases the profession and marital status were shown. Although the statement was obligatory, some workers did not possess one, and others had false certificates. A.S.B., F.C.I., b.6, p.n. 588 and 595.

31. The decree of 25 February 1809 remained in force until the Austrian occupation of Bologna, when the provisional government once again allowed begging, following the issue of a licence (announcement, 26 May 1814). Among proclamations reminding transgressors of the penalties to be paid relating to the decree of 1809, there were prefect's edicts of 12 April 1809, which reminded people of the recent opening of the Casa d'industria as an alternative to begging, and that of 16 February 1811 by which, having recognized the uselessness of threatening the beggars, the citizens were warned that "only because of misunderstood compassion" did they continue to beg alms on the streets. Cf. Bollettino...del Regno d'Italia, cit..

32. The episode is recorded in L. Lasorella, Sviluppo industriale e popolazione marginale a Bologna all'inizio del XIX secolo: la Casa d'Industria, unpublished degree thesis, University of Bologna 1978-1979.

33. In 1813 an emissary from the House sought to recover yarn from 93 spinners who were found not to have given it back. The search, which lasted fifteen days, ended with the restitution of the stolen thread in only 30 cases. Cf. A.S.B., F.C.I., b.18, p.n. 268.

34. The provision, exceptional in the Napoleonic period, became regular practice under the papal administration, which made use of it to dissuade the workers from taking themselves off to the House: "all the workers in this House have been advised of their future destination, so that, if they don't like working on the walls, they can make arrangements elsewhere". A.S.B., F.C.I., b.26, p.n. 434.

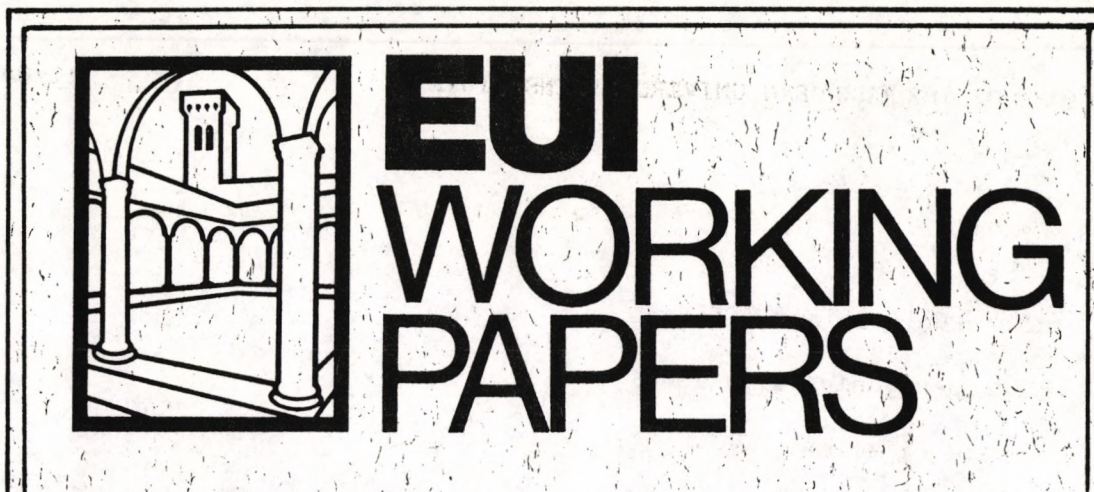
35. Given their number, the spinners have not been checked, but a check has been done for those working in all other sectors of manufacture. Cf. A.S.B., F.C.I., b.14, p.n. 142; b.17, p.n. 116; b.18, p.n. 268; b.19, p.n. 268.

36. According to G. Veronesi, up to 7000 workers were employed in hydraulic works in the lowland plain in the Bologna region during the Napoleonic period. Cf. G. Veronesi, 'Cenni storici sulle vicende idrauliche della bassa pianura bolognese', Memorie della Società Agraria della Provincia di Bologna, X (1859), p. 51.

37. On the suitability of planting rice in land given over to other cultivation, see F. Acucchi, 'Sui progressi agrari della provincia di Bologna dal secolo passato al presente', Annali della Società Agraria Provinciale di Bologna, VI (1867), p. 118. R. Zangheri quotes Antonio Aldini's opinion about the labourers employed in rice-growing: "The cultivation of rice has this peculiarity to it, that not only strong men but also women and even children can lend a hand in the work". Cf. R. Zangheri, 'Un dibattito sulle risaie bolognesi agli inizi della Restaurazione', Bollettino del Museo del Risorgimento, V (1960), p. 119.

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